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AN IMPRESSION OF AN
AUSTRALIAN UNIVERSITY
STUDENT IN CHINA

by

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Back home they were celebrating Australia Day (28th January, 1957) when our train left Kowloon Station for the border of the People's Republic of China. We were eight altogether, from different Universities in Australia, and representing the National Union of Australian University Students as its Delegation visiting China at the invitation of the All China Students' Federation.

Forty minutes later we reached the border town of Lo Wu. With very mixed feelings we climbed down from our train and walked across the railway bridge which forms the boundary between the British Crown Colony and the mainland of China.

The representative of the China Travel Service, who had escorted us from Hong Kong, introduced us to the member of China In-Tourist who had come from Canton to meet us and to guide us through Customs formalities.

My first view as we passed the heavily guarded border was beyond the clusters of Red Flags proudly shimmering in the sunlight, to the top of a distant hill. Here I beheld a large building surmounted by a Cross which gave indication that it was, or had been, a Monastery or other religious institution. And there, flying above the Cross, was yet another Red Flag. At the time I wondered whether this was symbolic, and four weeks later, as I again passed that spot, I knew just how symbolic indeed it was.

We were ushered into a private, pleasantly furnished waiting-room, where the first of the countless hundreds of cups of 'char' (tea) we were to have in the next few weeks was given us. A few minutes later in rushed Lao Yuan-hui and Liu Kuo-yun who had come from Peking to meet us, and were to be our interpreters for the duration of our stay in China. Lao had been one of three Chinese students who had visited Australia the previous year.

Our passports were taken from us, as they were on all subsequent occasions while we were travelling in China.

After a truly magnificent lunch we boarded our train for our journey to Canton where we had been told "Your friends are waiting to welcome you."

We took the opportunity at every station where the train stopped of get-

ting down from our carriage and strolling along the platform. And it was at these stopping places that we first noticed something we were to see all throughout China. Every food vendor on the stations, and indeed a great majority of the people as a whole, wore over their nose and mouth a gauze surgical mask. We questioned as to the reason for this, and were informed that in some places it was for hygienic purposes only, in others to afford protection from the cold. However I have read in a report of another delegation which had visited China, that the explanation given to a Japanese delegate who also questioned his hosts on this point, was that "the Americans were dropping germs in Korea during the war, and the Chinese people are protecting themselves against any likely disease that might develop at any time".

Love the Masses Hotel

We reached Canton in the late afternoon, and were greeted on the station by a large crowd of cheering, clapping students.

Still amid resounding cheers, we climbed into the special bus which awaited us, and were driven to the Love the Masses Hotel, on the banks of the Pearl River. This hotel, like the majority we were to stay in, was for the exclusive use of visiting delegations, and we wondered if the 'masses' would love the drain upon their pockets involved in the upkeep of a 500-bed hotel for this purpose.

Having settled in to our luxurious suites we were officially welcomed by the Chairman and Committee of the local Students' Union. His speech was identical in all fundamental points with those we were to hear at every stopping place during the next four weeks. He gave us a history of his city with heavy stress on the 'Revolutionary Traditions', examples of which stretched back to the early parts of the century. There followed an expression of hope and confidence that our visit to China would bring about "Peace, Friendship, and Mutual Co-operation between our two countries"; a hope we were to hear expressed in every speech, in every city in the self-same words.

After this the speaker went on to list a number of places in Canton which he thought we would be interested to see. From this list we chose the particular spot which we did in fact desire to see, and the programme for the next four days was arranged so as to include these places. This was the procedure adopted all over China.

After this welcome, four members of the team took the opportunity afforded by a spare hour to stroll, without apparent escorts, through the streets. And here we obtained our first view of life in Red China.

Canton is a dirty, very overcrowded city. The buildings are all old, most in need of repair, and all sorely in need of a coat of paint.

Almost universally the people, men and women, wear a blue or black serge uniform. No more are there worn the bright Cheong-Sams which we had seen giving so much colour and beauty to Hong Kong, and which formerly had been the normal dress for all Chinese women. The drabness was emphasised the more by the com-

plete lack of display in the large "People's Department Stores" and in the smaller shops.

Here too we saw the first of the countless number of food queues which we were to see in every city of China. On one occasion in a private conversation I was informed that food was rationed in China--my informant received one pound of meat per month--but any suggestion of food rationing was denied by our interpreters.

Nobody Smiles in the Street

The ordinary people in China keep very much to themselves in public, their sombre expressions being equalled only by their sombre dress. There is no happy chatter as the women pass the hours in the food queues, no groups of smiling people passing the time in idle conversation on the streets, and all of this showed up in marked contrast to what we had seen in Hong Kong, and to what, I believe, is or was, a normal Chinese characteristic.

We walked down broad streets and narrow lanes, all teeming with people, and heavy with oppressive smells. Our path was the centre of the road, as there are very few cars--I cannot recall having seen a single one on the roads on this occasion--and one's only worry is to avoid the trishaws (pedicabs) which abound.

In practically every shop window, in every room into which we peered, we beheld the smiling face of Mao Tse-tung; here receiving a bouquet from some children, there waving from the prow of a mighty battleship, in another place, receiving the applause of workers--from everywhere "Big Brother" was watching you. He was to watch us in every University, in every factory, in every store, in every home, worker's flat, school, kindergarten, hostel that we visited in China.

Also in a shop window we saw the first of many anti-American and anti-Chiang Kai-shek placards we were to see constantly in the next four weeks.

This particular placard was in the form of a large map showing mainland China and the island of Formosa. The Chinese mainland was pictured as a modern industrial nation with skyscrapers, factories and all the other impediments of a great centre. Along the coast and pointing in the direction of Formosa was a mighty array of military force. Steaming south and north and heading for Formosa were great fleets proudly flying the red flag. On the Island itself were two figures, one obviously Chiang Kai-shek, and the other dressed in the uniform of an American officer. Chiang had been crippled and was dressed in tattered rags. With the American officer he gazed in terror at the might of New China. Around him in piles were empty tins and great quantities of scrap all of which bore a mark "U.S." The pair were about to clamber aboard a very battered ship on which were the markings in English and Chinese "U.S. 7th".

We saw many other placards and posters the aim of which was quite obviously to stir up hatred against the United States.

The following day we were requested to pay our respects at the Yellow Flower Kno, the tomb of seventy-two 'martyrs' of the 1912 Revolution. Here we met a group of Chinese soldiers whom we questioned as regards military service in China. There is compulsory military training for all youths over the age of eighteen. Those called upon to serve in the Army spend three years in training, in the Air Force four years, and in the Navy five years. At the present time China has a standing Army of 2,500,000 with a further 7,000,000 on the active reserve.

Thence we visited a museum which was mainly devoted to a display of documents and exhibits of the phases of 'Liberation'--the term applied to the revolution which brought the Communists to power.

Hungary

It was here too that we had the first of many discussions on Hungary. We were to hear the same answer given wherever we posed the question in other cities, and it may be interesting to relate it at this point. The Hungarian people began, as they were quite entitled, a peaceful demonstration against certain minor abuses which had crept in. However, the Fascists and American Imperialists were able to turn this peaceful demonstration into an open revolt which the people did not want, and which was used by the Fascists for their own ends. The legitimate Government, in order to preserve the safety of the people, requested assistance from the Soviet Union under the provisions of the Warsaw Pact. When it was pointed out that the legitimate Government under Premier Nagy had repudiated the Warsaw Pact three days before the Russian troops entered the country, we were informed that Nagy being then under the influence and control of reactionaries and Fascists could no longer speak for the people, and could no longer be regarded as representing the legitimate Government of Hungary.

The Universities

We visited also the beautiful Sun-yat-Sen University, which was built some twenty years ago, and now has an enrolment of 2,000 students.

We were received by the Chancellor and cordially welcomed both by him and by the representatives of the Students' Union. We received this same high degree of cordiality at our every stopping place, and we cannot speak too highly of the welcome which was everywhere accorded us. While we found very many things in China of which the Delegation is completely united in its criticism, the manifestations of friendship given to us everywhere will receive an equally unanimous praise.

The Universities in China are controlled by the Minister for Higher Education, a member of the Cabinet of the Central People's Government. Working through the State Council of the Government, the Minister appoints all the Chancellors, and Heads of Colleges. The Deans of each Faculty are then recommended by the Chancellor, and their appointment is approved by the State

Council. Professors are then appointed on the recommendation of the Chancellor and Dean.

The courses for each Faculty are standardised throughout the country, as are the "Common courses" which are compulsory for all students in all Faculties, and comprise between 15 and 40 per cent of the total curriculum. In the Faculty of Law, for instance, these courses make up 40 per cent of one's studies. They comprise Marxist Leninist Theory, Dialectical Materialism, Historical Materialism, Political Economy, History of the Chinese Revolution, a foreign language--in the one University where we posed the question 90 per cent of the students took Russian--and physical education.

We were informed in Canton that there were "very few students at the University who are not materialists", but the one per cent of students who are Christians, Muslims or Buddhists have to study these materialist philosophies, because "our country is engaged in building up socialism, and as citizens, they have to study socialist theory".

Before "Liberation" there were a large number of Christian, both Protestant and Catholic, schools, colleges and universities, but all of these have been compulsorily, and without compensation, taken over by the State with the explanation "the People did not want all the religions to have their own different schools".

We were informed at the Sun-yat-Sen University that in the English Department periodicals library they had a supply of recent "Western newspapers". We found this surprising in view of the fact that nowhere in the libraries had we seen any traces of any material which would give another approach to any question on which there was a Marxist interpretation. It was freely admitted that there were no anti-Communist books in any of the libraries. We, therefore, requested to see "Western newspapers", and arrangements were made for us to visit this section the following day.

Yes, "there were "Western newspapers". We saw the London Daily Worker, the New York Worker, the United States People's Guardian, and People's Weekly, the Indian Blitz, and one or two others of a similar vein.

When we pointed out that we did not regard these papers as being representative of the public opinion in the country of their origin, the students with us expressed themselves to be very surprised, and were, I think, a little disbelieving. On this occasion when, as was always the case, we were asked for our criticisms and suggestions, we commented that possibly the New York Times, London Times and Manchester Guardian might give a more balanced view of Western public opinion.

Every Student Passes

On enrolment in the Universities, a student will submit along with his qualifications a list of four faculties which he would like to join in order of preference. He will later be informed as to the particular faculty for

which his enrolment has been accepted. Similarly, on graduation, he will submit a list of four places in which he would like to take up appointment, and from this list, though there is no certainty that one of his selections will be chosen, his place of employment will be determined.

The students at all the Universities are accommodated in hostels within the University grounds. Few new hostels have been built and with greatly increased numbers now attending the Universities, overcrowding is extreme.

Six or eight students have their accommodation in each room and the average room would measure no more than 12 feet by 16.

Along each wall are two sets of double-tiered beds and the only other furniture in the room appeared to be a small table for each student.

In most cases there was little evidence that the students had more than a couple of sets of clothing.

In one room we visited in the Sun-yat-Sen University in Canton there was written on a sheet of blotting paper on the girl students' desk, the words:

"Why should I receive such a mark?"

"I confess!"

"What else can I do?"

Unfortunately the girl whose desk this was, was not present at the time and so no explanation could be obtained for these strange but definitely enlightening thoughts.

In a prominent position in every University is a 'praising and criticism' notice board. These boards had 20 or 30 different sheets pinned to them on each of which was a photo of the student who was the subject of the particular notice. Under their photo were written a list of good features and following on this, numbered in order of importance, the bad points which had been noticed by their teachers and class companions.

Most of the criticisms concerned their ideological level.

In no faculty in any of the Universities visited was there a failure rate greater than five per cent. Indeed in the Faculty of Law at the School of Economics and Law in Shanghai--formerly the Protestant St. John's University--there was a pass rate of 100 per cent in every year. Wherever we found a small number of failures, we were informed that the reason was that the students concerned, through illness or other reasons, have missed a considerable portion of the year's lectures, and it was 'deemed advisable' that they should repeat the year.

There is a degree of specialisation undreamed of in Australia in all of the technical faculties of the Universities. Even in the middle schools--our secondary schools--the students begin to specialise. As a result, the 403,000 University students of China are being taught a very narrow specialist course,

completely foreign to our idea of a liberal education. In no sense could it be said that the Universities of China, even in the liberal Arts Faculties, are training their students to think; rather quite the reverse. Their minds are being conditioned so that they will accept, without question, all that is told them, and use the prestige which their University education provides them to transmit the ideas of the Government to the masses.

History Rewritten

Impossible though it is to believe, it is a fact that history is being rewritten and completely changed to suit Party purposes in today's China.

In China the Communists gained control almost entirely through a peasant revolt. For many years the Party had tried to win the support of the proletariat, but in this they largely failed. In any event the proletariat formed so small a percentage of the population that it was doubtful if they would ever have proved a powerful enough force.

So Mao Tse-tung, ignoring the Marxist theory that a Communist revolution will be brought about by the urban working classes, turned to the peasants. At the time he wrote, "The war of resistance is as a matter of fact a peasant war . . . the villages and the countryside will defeat the cities and the towns."

For these so obvious deviationist tendencies Mao was expelled from the Central Executive of the Party, and I have even read, from the Party itself.

But Mao went to the peasants, and where the proletariat had failed the peasants succeeded.

In China now these things, the facts of history, have been changed. It was the proletariat that was in the vanguard of the revolution. No, it was not the peasants. It could not possibly be the peasants for Marxist theory shows us . . . Mao's expulsion just did not happen.

This story was repeated to us everywhere. By officials, by students, even by University professors who had themselves lived through that very stage of history and watched the illegitimate birth of Communism in China.

Now this is the Party line, these are the 'correct ideas' so no more is to be said.

The intellectuals have been a source of concern to the Chinese Government. In 1955 there was an intensive campaign against 'counterrevolutionaries' and a number of intellectuals were arrested. Notably there was the writer Hu Feng whose work has showed 'deviationist tendencies' from the accepted ideological line.

This resulted in a paralysing blow at original thought and work. All the creative artists in every field feared that the slightest deviation from the Party's interpretation of Marxist Leninist thought would result in their coming to the same fate as was Hu Feng's.

The Party realised the position and after a Central Committee meeting Premier Chou En-lai laid down the new policy. It is summarised in a slogan, now met everywhere in China: "Let flowers of many kinds blossom; let all schools contend." This policy has subsequently been given the imprimatur of Chairman Mao.

However, despite the general language of the current slogan, it was explained to us that it applied only in the fields of literature, art and science.

Many times we commented on how strange to us it was that a Government decree was necessary in order to reassure the intellectuals that they were free to engage in original thought and free to express their ideas. Much more often did we comment on the fact that even now their freedom of thought and expression extended only into the fields of 'literature, art and science' and no further.

Always our comments were regarded as 'strange'. Even the intellectuals have been so conditioned by seven years of the Communist regime that they regard the control of thought by the State as something natural, something to be expected. And those same intellectuals would say that there is academic freedom in their country.

True academic freedom is unknown in China today.

It was on our second night in Canton that we really gained some idea of the extent of propaganda in China. We attended an innocent magician's show, and soon discovered that its prime purpose was to spread the message. Hauled out of hats, produced from thin air, were slogans covering an endless variety of topics: "Taiwan is the territory of the Chinese people," "take part in socialist reconstruction," "it is the duty of the citizen to serve in the volunteer army," "world peace," "the Chinese people must liberate Taiwan," "we resolutely support the just struggle of the Egyptian people," etc., etc., etc. We noticed, with interest, the applause which greeted the last-mentioned slogan.

Where are Those Tractors?

From Canton we went to Hankow and thence to Peking. Throughout this and other train journeys—we travelled altogether some five thousand miles by train—we were able to form some general conclusions on life in China for the peasantry. Nowhere did we see any general signs that conditions for the peasant had improved at all since 'Liberation'. Nowhere from our train window did we see a single tractor working in the fields, but always the bullock-drawn wooden plough, and the hoe wielded often times by women. The great 'mechanisation of agriculture' of which, in Australia I had heard so much is, in the light of what I saw, a myth, unsupported by evidence. Perhaps, in other parts of China, there may be some mechanisation, but as we passed through some of the most fertile belts in the country, one would have expected some little evidence of mechanisation there.

At Peking station the same tumultuous welcome awaited us. We were presented with bouquets of flowers, and, amid the flash of photographers' bulbs, walked to

our fleet of cars which stood outside the station. We were transported to yet another luxurious hotel, and the speeches of welcome--the same stereotyped speech to which we had grown accustomed--were repeated.

Our first visit was to the Peking Comprehensive University, which before 1949 had been under the control of the Society of the Divine Word.

We were shown over the University by an enthusiastic group of students, and all we saw and heard served to confirm us in the opinions which we had formed on University education in China.

We were received by the Chancellor, who had received a portion of his education in the United States, but who nevertheless, now held the view that the workers both in the United States and in Australia were 'oppressed'. He also showed a certain degree of incredulity when we informed him that in Australia the Communist Party was given the same freedom as was enjoyed by any other political party.

The Chancellor, now aged 72, informed us that prior to 'Liberation' he had greatly feared the Communists, and had opposed their policies. Now, however, he realised that his views had been completely incorrect, and he showed himself to be an ardent supporter of the regime.

It appeared to us to be somewhat strange that a highly-educated person--and, might I say with respect, particularly a University professor--should at the age of 65 make such a radical change in his views.

Undoubtedly the highlight of the day was the official welcome extended to us by the Students' Union. Each Australian, in turn, walked into the Great Hall crammed to overflowing with 1,200 students. The applause which greeted each member of the delegation was tumultuous. We took our places on the stage beneath a large banner "Welcome to the Australian students" and listened to several addresses in the usual style from members of the Executive of the All China Students' Federation and the Students' Union.

Not One Word of Criticism

That evening a dance was given in our honour, where our high status was evidenced by the number of girls who approached each of us asking may they have this dance.

A few days before I had expressed my surprise to an official at the unanimous approval which we had found among all classes of people for every aspect of Government policy. Not once had we heard a single word of criticism, nor a single voice raised in opposition. I contrasted this situation with Australia, instancing, in particular, the recent policy adopted by the Australian Government on the Suez question. I stated that about 50 per cent of the Australian people were opposed, and strongly expressed themselves to be so opposed to the Government policy on this issue.

The official then assured me that throughout the whole of China 99 per cent of all the people gave to the Government full support in its every action. I immediately requested to be given an opportunity of speaking to some people who made up the one per cent. I had been startled by many things I had seen and heard in China before that, but the answer to this question was the most frank admission that I had received on any point.

He said: "You will be visiting Peking prison. You will be able to meet them there."

On our second day in Peking we did, in fact, visit the Peking prison. But if our purpose was to find a single person who would express himself to be opposed to the Communist Government, we were to be sorely disappointed. After a discussion with the Director of the prison we were permitted to inspect the prison factories, workshops, cells, etc. While so doing we expressed the wish to speak to some of the prisoners, and we chose at random 18 prisoners, men and women.

Two-thirds of the prison's 1,800 inmates have been arrested on "counter-revolutionary" charges. Twelve of the 18 to whom we spoke were "counter-revolutionaries". Not one of the 18 had a single word but praise of the Government.

The Way Justice Works

In theory every person in China accused of a "serious offence" will have legal representation at his trial. A conviction on a "counter-revolutionary" offence carries as the maximum penalty the sentence of death. So that by any standards "counter-revolutionary activities" must be regarded as a "serious offence". However, in practice, not one of the whole 18 had been given legal representation at his or her trial; one indeed had not even been present at his own trial! Each one had presented to the Court a confession, each one had pleaded guilty, each one assured us that he believed justice had been done and that his punishment was well deserved.

It may be significant to note that a couple of the prisoners told us that they had not "confessed" to the charge until "the facts had been pointed out by the police". Before this they said "they had not been aware of what they had done".

One woman, sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment, told us that she had "sent secrets to Chiang Kai-shek". In answer to our question she said that the secrets were "political, military and economic". We asked her how the secrets had been transmitted, and she informed us that she had sent them by telegram!

The Director of the prison informed us that the prisoners were imbued with "correct ideas" by means of "reform through education" (called by many writers "brain-washing"). The prisoners have regular meetings in small groups, each of which is under the control of a "worker from the prison educational section".

We were informed that the content of this "education" was the teaching to the prisoners "of the lenient policy of the State". This is "to make the prisoner into a new man. To show him that he was wrong, and needed reforming. To make him into a worker for the State."

The Director went on to tell us that there is no corporal punishment, ill-treatment or abuse allowed in the prison. On the first occasion a prisoner breaks prison discipline, he will be warned. If there is a subsequent breach he will be made to stop work, and sent back to his own cell where he will be asked to make a confession; "to recall what he has done, to think about his error, and to repent". In all of this he will be helped by the "educational section". "The worker in charge of the education section tells him what he has done and tells him the policy of the State. The other prisoners will also tell him that he has done wrong." We were informed "it does not happen that they do not confess that they have done wrong".

The Director probably did not realise how much he astounded us with a later comment. "Counter-revolutionaries," he informed us, "are only sent to prison when they act against the State, because it is difficult really to find out if a person has reactionary ideas." There was no doubt in our minds that although the punishment only followed the act, nevertheless the crime was in the reactionary ideas.

It Was Said Eleven Times

The following evening we had a discussion with the Executive of the All-China Students' Federation.

The All-China Students' Federation unites the 403,000 students in China's Universities.

It has three seats on the Chinese People's National Political Consultative Conference where it is able to offer proposals on Government work in the Universities. As well, it carries out the usual activities common to most National Unions of students, exercising, however, a very high degree of control over its constituent bodies: the local "University Students" Unions.

For its major activities the finance is provided by the Government. Thus the finance for the building of the International Union of Students' Afro-Asian T.B. Sanatorium in Peking was supplied directly from this source. Similarly the expenses of delegations of Chinese students proceeding on various missions overseas is paid by the Government, which also meets the expenses of foreign delegations visiting China at the invitation of the A.C.S.F.

The policies of the Federation vary in no way from the policies of the Government. It is their aim in the international sphere to win the students of Asia to Communism. For this reason they were not willing to put to any practical effect their verbal assurances that they wanted mutual co-operation with the students of Australia in matters affecting students.

On our final day in Peking three of us visited the Ming Tombs. We were driven there by car, and unaccompanied by our interpreter. On the return we took the opportunity of directing our driver off the main road, and into a wayside village. Here we were able closely to inspect the homes and conditions of the peasants in what was a typical Chinese village. The houses were very small, some measuring only eight feet by ten feet. The walls were made of mud, and many of them, over the years, had, in spots, given way. Timber slats formed the windows, and were covered on the inside with newspaper. The "streets" were in a very bad condition, so much so that our driver was unable to bring the car beyond the village outskirts. All the drains were open, and toilet facilities non-existent. The children were dirty, but appeared reasonably well fed.

By way of a general comparison this village was similar in many respects to the average village which I have seen in India. However, while the Indian village might be dirty, nevertheless, the buildings have the appearance of being well looked after. This was not the case in this Chinese village.

Throughout the whole of my trip, I did not see any concrete examples of development, progress or advancement schemes being undertaken to benefit the 80 per cent peasants of China's 600,000,000 people.

From Peking half the Delegation went to Anshan, a centre of heavy industry in Manchuria. Here we visited the iron and steel mills which at present have an annual production almost equal to that of the whole of Australia. As well we saw the nurseries and kindergartens for the workers' children, the newly-built workers' flats and the workers' hospital.

It was freely admitted that considerable assistance is being obtained from the Soviet Union. In Hankow there is being built one of the showpieces of the new regime—a bridge to span the Yangtse River. Eight sets of plans were prepared and then sent to the Soviet where the final choice was made.

In Peking and many other cities we saw a considerable number of Russian and nationals of European satellite countries.

As well as advice and technical assistance, the Soviet is providing much of the finance necessary to support the Five-Year Plans, the second of which is just beginning.

The nurseries in the industrial areas are run either by the State-controlled factory or "by the people financed by the State". It seems to be the case that in the normal instance both mother and the father will be working in the factories, hence "the majority of the children in Anshan are in a nursery or kindergarten". Just in this one city there are 214 nurseries and creches run by the State factories, together with an almost equal number run by the people.

The Job of the Trade Unions

From the age of two months, the mother will bring her child to the creche at 8 o'clock each morning, six days per week, calling for him again after work

by 5:30 p.m. Add to this the fact that it was found that all workers attend 'classes' of various sorts from three to five nights per week, and it will be realised that family life as it is understood in Australia is impossible in China.

The workers' flats are built along purely utilitarian lines in large blocks in the outer suburbs of the city. They are generally poorly built, and despite the fact that they are but a few years old, many of them show large cracks in the walls. Ventilation is poor, and lighting very bad.

Each worker is supplied with one room for his wife and family and generally three families will share a kitchen and bathroom. We inspected many of the rooms, and spoke to several of the workers. The following example may be regarded as typical. The worker, his wife and five children had a room measuring 14 feet by 9 feet in which the only furniture was four single beds and two small tables. A large picture of Chairman Mao completed the decoration. The family possessed seven blankets between them all—and this in a temperature which while we were there dropped to 40 degree below zero. Need I remark that the workers did not have the centrally-heated buildings which were provided for foreign delegations.

The family earned 92 yuan (say £15) per month. Of this, food cost 50 to 60 yuan, and other incidental expenses amounted to about 30 yuan per month. His wife was "very careful in managing clothes for the children" but the family clothing bill was 150 yuan per year.

It will be clearly seen from the above figures that there is very little margin for savings. It may be noted that this worker attended 'classes' five evenings per week.

As an experiment, one member of the team asked him, "What do you know of Australia?" and we received the classic answer, "I know that the Australian people want peace."

In Anshan and other industrial areas visited, I made inquiries into trade unionism in China.

The purpose of the trade union was stated as follows:

1. To provide facilities for the study of political science.
 2. To educate the workers so that they may increase production and improve techniques.
 3. To provide recreational activities.
- In Canton a fourth was added "to develop the initiative of the workers".

Questions on the nature of 'political science' revealed that it was a study of the documents of the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party, and 'other literature'.

'Employees' study six hours per week, and 'workers' study two hours per night three to five times a week.

It should be recalled that the worker to whom we spoke studied five

evenings per week.

Throughout China all workers have a six-day week of eight hours per day. We were informed that no overtime may be worked without the agreement of the trade union. In a sugar factory visited in Canton the workers had to do a further eight hours' overtime on two Sundays out of three. We were informed, however, that this was the exception.

There is no fixed time allowed for lunch, but generally about twenty minutes' work will be lost while a worker has his midday meal. There is no morning or afternoon break.

A total of six days' annual holidays is given--three days at the 'Spring Festival', formerly the Chinese New Year, two days to celebrate October Day, and one day on May Day. No three weeks' annual leave for the workers in China.

A further three days' holiday will be given on the death of a parent, or on one's marriage. Women workers may take a 56-day maternity leave.

Strikes?--No Such Things

If one accepts the word of factory executives, trade union leaders and model workers, then labour troubles are unknown in present-day China. In the period of eight years between 1918 and 1926, there were over 1,200 strikes--two-thirds of them successful--in China. But, as Hsu Chih-chen explained to the Seventh Trade Union Congress: "At that time, all economic struggles waged by the trade unions had political significance. Now the situation is entirely different. The working class of China is the leading class of the State. Under the People's Democratic Dictatorship, the policy, tasks, and role of the trade unions have undergone a fundamental change."

In the factory at Canton referred to above it was only after a lengthy explanation that the chairman of the trade union was able to comprehend the meaning of the term 'strike'.

He then proceeded to inform us that if a worker has a complaint he must refer it to the Labour Protection Committee, which is one of some fifteen sub-committees set up by the Trade Union Committee in the factory. The Labour Protection Committee will then examine the complaint, and if it is sound and reasonable it will be passed on to an unspecified 'higher authority'. Here it will be subjected to further re-examination, and if still regarded as reasonable it will be passed up the next rung until eventually it reaches the Minister of Light (or Heavy, as the case may be) Industry. Here a final examination will be made, and a final decision given.

Q.--If the request is not finally granted, and the workers still think it reasonable, can they go on strike?

A.--There have been no such cases in this factory.

Q.--Have there been any such cases in China?

A.--There have been no cases in China.

This answer was verified in all other places where the same question was put.

The explanation given would be to an Australian trade unionist absolutely amazing: "The Ministry of Labour makes the regulations on wages, safety precautions, and all other working conditions. It is, therefore, very easy for them to decide on any particular question. This decision is correct."

As a matter of fact the right to strike has probably been done away with by virtue of a section of the Chinese Constitution which lays down that workers must "maintain discipline at work". If anything more specific is required it will be found in Section 10 of the 1950 Trade Union Law which provides "during a dispute, the workers shall maintain discipline at work".

The trade unions are controlled by Communist Cadres, and their most important task is to unite and lead all the workers to struggle conscientiously and enthusiastically for greater and greater output.

It is the unions who are responsible for the Socialist emulation drives which create labour's new heroes, which spur production in the mine and factory, and which, having raised production levels, then set new norms and quotas to be broken by another drive.

According to theory, the wages of the workers increase in proportion to factory production. In theory, it will be the unions who will see to it that the workers obtain this increase, but as is so often the case in Communist China today, theory and practice are completely divorced.

The former chairman of the State Planning Commission, Mr. Li Fu-Chun, in a 1956 report to the People's Congress, admitted "that the adjustment of wages had been ignored". He made this statement in the process of a report on that year's working of the Five-Year Plan, which even in theory is to increase production by two-thirds, with provision for a wage increase of one-third.

The workers in China are beginning to grumble at the conditions under which they are compelled to work. Their unions, dominated by the Party and used by it purely as an instrumentality of government, is concerned far less with the welfare of the workers than with increases in production, efficiency and economies. The workers' welfare must suffer in the interests of these three goals.

Every large factory has a glass-framed display board on which are posted the pictures and stories of its leading workers: the model worker.

There are similar displays in conspicuous sights in the major cities. These workers are the heroes of New China. The model worker is one who continually exceeds his work quota.

In each department store, factory or workshop, flags and banners hang over the factory machines; pictures on the factory walls tell how the operators of the machines or the workers in that section have won for themselves, by increased output over and above their quota, the praises of the Party.

Instead of organising strikes, the trade unions must instil 'labour discipline'. It would seem that discipline has been especially tightened since 1953 when the All-China Federation of Trade Unions issued a 'decision' on strengthen-

ing it, when it became fairly evident that the targets set by the first year's plan were not going to be reached. The Peking Daily Worker on 14th January of that year stated: "The reasoning whereby some comrades have adopted a lenient and accommodating attitude towards labour discipline, is said to be based on the 'mass viewpoint' of trade union workers and the 'protections of working-class interests'. Obviously, no such strange working-class interests exist."

"Trade unions must make every worker understand that strengthened organisation and strict discipline are the inherent qualities of the working class."

Forced Slave Labour

Then on 16th November, 1954, an article in the Peking People's Daily declared: "There are still a small number of workers who, influenced by the capitalist thought of the old order, do not understand that the new labour discipline is different from the old . . . Some party and official (i.e. trade union) Cadres, hold that it is unnecessary to conduct any education in labour discipline, and that most workers will spontaneously observe it. This is to deny the function of Party leadership and to express blind trust in the spontaneous development of workers."

A writer, Peng Chi-yun, in the Peking People's Daily, 16th November, 1954, urged drastic correction for backward workers. It should be borne in mind that the trade unions draw powerful help in keeping up labour discipline from the system of forced labour which Peking regularised in August 1954 to supplement ordinary punishments. As with all Communist governments, Peking has found that fear of forced labour is a better disciplinarian than was fear of unemployment under capitalism.

It is obvious from the regulations that forced labour is regarded as being an essential part of the economic structure of Communist China. It is equally obvious that it plays a very important part in that structure. It is not difficult then to accept the report by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Director-General of the International Labour Office of the 15th December, 1955, in which it is stated that a total of 25 million people are in slave labour camps in Communist China. This figure has been arrived at after extensive investigation, and in many cases figures supplied by Communist sources have been used as the basis.

In the houses of detention, the prisoners awaiting trial naturally toil unsparingly at their work assignments in the hope of winning acquittal or getting off with a light sentence. Their already convicted fellows are obliged to match their performance in order to avoid punishment as shirkers or 'counter-revolutionary saboteurs'.

In the prisons it is those under suspended death sentence who set the pace which the 'lifers' perforce must try to equal. Thus the prisoners awaiting trial work for their freedom; those given a stay of execution work for their lives. The rest must keep up to avoid a harsher fate than is already theirs.

In Peking prison the energy of the robot-like movements of the prisoners we saw was startlingly evident; not a word was uttered as they worked at a speed unknown to workers in Australia, and not one ceased work for a second as our party entered and proceeded through the workshop.

On the walls of every factory visited were great quantities of slogans urging "fulfil your quotas", "challenge one another to exceed your quotas", "strive to be a model worker", etc.

The use of the slogan in China is fantastic. In this respect and in an alarming number of others the degree of resemblance between China today and the world as outlined in George Orwell's remarkable book '1984' is astounding. There are slogans on all the railway stations, there are slogans on many of the large buildings, slogans in the schools, universities, the factories and the workshops, slogans in the new people's Cultural Parks and in the old historical spots like the Summer Palace, slogans at the magicians' shows, and at the shows of traditional dancing, slogans on billboards, in the newspapers, in the school text-books. Slogans! Slogans! Slogans! . . . everywhere. Then, of course, there are the Peace Loves. Yet another type of Communist 'Peace Dove' is being produced in the newly-established aircraft factories where the production is exclusively confined to military aircraft. The Press and the radio are controlled by the Government, and used for propaganda. The films all have a purpose much more than mere entertainment. The Chinese Classical Theatre portrays stories with a very obvious moral. The school text-books promote Government policy.

I was able to obtain only one text-book--An English Reader for the Chinese Middle School, published in Peking in 1957. There is not one page or one story in that book which does not have high propaganda value. We read of the "Traitor to the Chinese people Chiang Kai-shek", of "American Imperialism", of "The Kings of the Republic"--a vicious blast at the American capitalist system, of how the Americans invaded Korea, of how American policy is against the Chinese and the Soviet policy of peace, and that it is "leading the United States to another thrashing", similar to the one they were given in Korea, of the bravery of the workers of the Soviet Union, of the friendship between the Soviet and China, of all of this and more repeated ad infinitum. And all of this in An English Reader. The one and only poem in the book is entitled 'To the Rosenbergs', and outlines the fate of the murderers of Ethel and Julius when they are brought before the People's Courts of Justice.

In a People's Court

Our next stop was Nanking. Here and later in Shanghai we were given an opportunity to attend both a criminal and civil trial. As well we proceeded to investigate as fully as possible the full legal structure, and as this is fundamental in any society it is of considerable importance.

When the new regime took over in 1949, it was probably expected that there would be changes in the existing law. However, it was shortly found that there was a change, not only in the written law but in the whole concept of law. The very foundation of the juridical system underwent an astonishing change. All the former texts were abrogated en masse without being replaced by others.

The new jurisdiction was not to be hampered in its action for the benefit of the people by laws which might be invoked by an accused or a defendant as a means of self-protection. While former laws were, according to the Communist theory, only a class instrument, the new State aimed at only the happiness of the masses. In this regard the State and even the most humble of its officials is presupposed to be endowed with true infallibility. The whole attitude towards the police system and the judiciary provides ample evidence of this fact. Consequently, the former legislative texts would result in a hampering of action by impeding adherence to the circumstances.

Moreover, such a text might arm the individual and frustrate the omnipotence of the People's State, and this People's State Act, by definition, in the spirit of the Revolution, must not be limited in any way whatsoever.

Another consequence is that absolute obedience is due in the event of any indication, however slight it may be, of the will of the Government. It is not necessary that this will of the Government be laid down by legislative or statutory text. It can merely be 'the policy of the State' which we were told was acted upon by the judges of the Courts in the absence of legislative enactments.

As a further consequence, a person brought before the Courts is not to defend himself, but to yield. To defend oneself constitutes a veritable revolt against the established power.

At the head of the Chinese Judicial structure is the Supreme People's Court, the president of which is appointed by the National People's Congress. The Judges are appointed by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, a very powerful body, which may also remove Judges or other members of the Judicial scheme. As well this Committee will "supervise the work of the Supreme People's Court". (Constitution Article 31 v.)

Beneath this Court are the local People's Court and special People's Courts. The Judges of these Courts are elected, and may be dismissed, by the members of the People's Council at the corresponding level. The Supreme People's Court supervises the work of the local People's Courts and special People's Courts and likewise the People's Courts at higher levels supervise the Judicial work of the People's Courts at lower levels.

Further the Supreme People's Court is responsible to the National People's Congress, and reports to it. The local People's Courts are responsible to the local People's Congresses at the corresponding levels and report to them.

Any person, male or female, over 23 years of age, who has had three years' 'Court experience' or has a degree may be appointed as a Judge in one of the People's Courts. Questions on this 'Court experience' revealed that such persons as Court shorthand reporters, clerks and the like were eligible under this head. There is no examination, but one's 'cultural level' is taken into account.

As well as the Judges, the People's Courts have two 'accessories' to assist the Court in arriving at its verdict. These people have the same rights as the Judge and are elected annually from the people of the district by direct franchise. They have no legal training, "but would have investigated the case before

It was found impossible to obtain any clear statement as to the difference between the jurisdiction of the People's Courts at the various levels, and we believe that there is no clear distinction drawn. The local People's Court has the power to pass the death penalty, but this has to be ratified by the Supreme People's Court.

Judicial Court Procedure

There is very little written law, in fact we were informed that the only written laws are those concerned with 'counter-revolutionaries', 'corruption of public monies', and 'marriage'. "If there is no law in a particular case, we will act on the policy of the State" (Director, Nanking People's Court). Further, "from the experience of Judges and workers in the Courts there will be a uniform application of the policy of the State and a uniform sentence for crimes. This will not be excessive, because these are Courts of Justice" (*idem*). However, we in the Democracies regard the Rule of Law as the indispensable corner-stone of justice, without which there can be no justice. In China today there is no Rule of Law.

The members of the delegation were able to witness two 'trials'; one a civil action for the recovery of rent due, the other a criminal action where the accused was charged on over twenty counts of theft.

There is a complete absence of formality and quite obviously no law of procedure. In the first case, both plaintiff and defendant appeared in person and each proceeded to tell their stories amid continual interruptions from one another, from the Judges, even from the shorthand reporter! The verbatim report of the trial obtained by the delegation reads like a rather racy dialogue in some comic opera! The staccato exchange lasted for about half an hour when the Judges suddenly left the room to consider their verdict. They were absent for about ten minutes, but when they returned one of the parties had gone home! However, judgment was duly given. It was the unsuccessful litigant who had remained, and after hearing the decision he stormed, "I did not make myself clear," and proceeded to continue his argument. Two of the Judges left the Court but our friend accosted the third and continued in his explanations. "I am not satisfied" was the only remark we were able to catch. At this stage the shorthand writer joined the pair and the party, and the trio continued their squabble, much to our amusement. By this time amusement had completely taken the place of astonishment.

Four Judges presided over the criminal trial. The accused was represented by a woman counsel and a member of the People's Procuratorate prosecuted. Three days before the trial the accused, although he had been arrested some three months before, was presented with the charge he was to face. During the time spent in custody he had confessed to all the crimes with which he was charged. When we later asked his counsel if she was quite satisfied that the confession was voluntarily given she replied, "At the beginning he had some worries, but afterwards he confessed voluntarily."

We were told everywhere that a conviction will not be made merely on a confession, but in this case, on all but two of the counts no evidence of any description was offered except the confession.

Two witnesses were called, each of whom gave evidence that money had been stolen when she was shopping in a store. One admitted that she had not seen the thief, the other gave weak evidence of identification of the prisoner with the person who stole her bag. The defence counsel made no attempt to cross-examine either witness. As a matter of fact the only questions she asked were directed at the accused and each served only to incriminate him. It may be of interest to relate them:

Q.—What do you think of your action?

A.—I have done something against the law.

Q.—Did you steal anything in the latter part of July?

A.—Yes, in the rubber shoes department.

Q.—What did you steal?

A.—Money.

Q.—What was it contained in?

A.—In a yellow envelope.

These were the only questions asked by the accused counsel during the whole trial and their effect was to link the accused with the theft from the woman who was not able to identify the person who stole her yellow envelope containing some money. In her speech to the Court after the 'evidence' had been given she stated that she could not argue on the question that the accused had in fact stolen all that was alleged, but she blamed his lapse "on the evils of the old society left behind since Liberation". This, she hoped, would be taken into account. She dealt then with the attitude of the prisoner: as she termed it, "his attitude of confession". "When he was arrested he had worries and did not tell the truth. But after enquiries had been made and he had been educated, he told the truth. Thus he showed a good attitude."

The prisoner was found guilty of stealing "over twenty times" money and goods totalling "over 300 yuan" (say £50) and was convicted and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. This was a very light sentence compared with that imposed on prisoners we met in Peking Prison (three and a half years for illegally using a bicycle; two years for stealing "10 to 20 yuan") and serves perhaps to illustrate the absence of uniformity of sentence where, there being no written criminal law, the Judges "act in conformity with the policy of the State".

Anxious to discover something of police powers and methods, we requested when in Shanghai to meet an official of the Police Department, and a Mr. Ho, the Chief of the Maintenance of Security Section of the Bureau of Public Security, was brought to our hotel where we spent some two hours in obtaining information from him.

Mr. Ho Does Some Explaining

The Bureau is an organ of the People's Democratic Dictatorship which on the one hand "carries our dictatorship toward counter-revolutionary elements", and

It has no power to arrest of its own volition, but must obtain the approval of either the Court or the People's Procuratorate either before the arrest or within twenty-four hours afterwards. It does, however, carry out all the investigations which proceed and follow the arrest.

We questioned firstly on the right of a prisoner to refuse to answer the questions posed during the investigation. We were informed that "the prisoner has the right to refuse to speak. But if we have evidence that a person has committed a crime, it does not mean that if he keeps silent he will escape punishment". We were informed that "generally speaking it is natural for them at the beginning to refuse to speak and to admit the crimes they have committed. But after we have explained to them the lenient policy of the State, i.e., if you confess you will be treated with leniency; if you have done some merit you will be allowed to go unpunished; if you have done great merit you will be rewarded, the prisoner will usually confess to many things."

This "explanation of the lenient policy of the State"--the better term is "brain washing"--will go on for a period of "from three to five days". However, "if the prisoner insists on his innocence and we have the facts, the time taken may be a little longer". This was explained, "as a human being he will know in his heart that he has committed a crime. He will accept the evidence we have and will realise that he will get a lesser sentence if he confesses." There was then received the answer "Yes" to our question, "Then in the normal case the prisoner would confess to his crime after the explanation of the lenient policy of the State and the showing of all the facts to him?"

We were told that only persons who have in fact committed crimes will be arrested, and only persons who are guilty of crimes are brought before the Court.

Q.--If this is so it follows that in 100 per cent of the cases there will be a confession and the Court will merely pass sentence on the prisoner?

A.--No, it will be up to the Court whether the prisoner will be sentenced or he can be set free for good behaviour.

In all the cases of which Mr. Ho had personal experience the prisoners had, all of them, confessed, and all of them pleaded guilty at their trial.

We asked Mr. Ho how long the "explanation of the lenient policy of the State" lasted. We received a really remarkable answer: "Usually we will explain for about two hours per day, but if a man likes more conversation three or four hours per day."

As opposed to this, I myself have spoken to people here in Brisbane who have been interrogated in China for upwards of seven hours per day by five or six police officials at a time. And they certainly did not "like more conversation".

Every public security station has its residence and registration police which checks on travellers who must register within three days of changing their address, overnight guests, hotel patrons, birth and deaths, unemployment, marriages and divorces.

This branch of the police has dossiers on every household and is expected to know the individual's sources of income, education and family background, personal history from childhood, his friends and relatives, inside and outside China.

I Meet a Priest

Since the return to Australia last year of an Anglican Delegation and the subsequent comment of the Archbishop of Sydney, there has been considerable controversy on the subject of Freedom of Religion in China.

Although this subject was not the special study of our delegation, many facts were obtained which have a direct bearing on it. For that reason and in view of the interest they will be presented here.

In all the cities visited by the delegation there were found to be churches open, both Protestant and Catholic. In Nanking two of our members visited an Interdenominational Protestant seminary. The Bishop who administers the seminary assured them that the Church in China was completely free. I myself spoke to a 'Catholic' priest in Shanghai, a discussion in which it was at least implied that there was freedom of religion in China. Some members of the team also visited a Protestant Church Youth organisation meeting in Shanghai. The 'Catholic' priest, I have since discovered, has been excommunicated by Rome.

So much for the credit side.

On the other hand, let us examine the position in 1949 before 'Liberation'.

In that year there were some 6,400 odd foreign missionaries in China. Today there are very few--perhaps half a dozen--and all of them, with but one exception, are in gaol. There were many Universities run by both the Protestant and Catholic Churches. There were a very large number of primary and secondary schools. All of these have now been taken over by the State without compensation--"the People did not want all the religions to have their different schools".

There were orphanages, hospitals, dispensaries; but today there are none.

There were convents; but today all the convents, with one or two exceptions, have been "taken back by the State" and "put to better uses". The nuns have been forced to abandon their community life and live separately or in twos and threes. They are not permitted to wear their religious habit, but are compelled to adopt lay attire. They support themselves by working in the State hospitals, taking in washing, cleaning factories and offices and the like. They are not permitted to take any positions of responsibility.

There is at least one Protestant seminary open--the one visited in Nanking--and the 'Catholic' priest referred to above informed us that there is a Catholic seminary in Shanghai. We were, however, unable to confirm this fact. However, our informant went on to say that the students at the seminary studied, in addition to the more or less normal course, "Marxist Leninist Theory" and "Dialectical and Historical Materialism". Similarly all the clergy take a weekly

All students, be they Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, Theorist or anything else, must take the compulsory courses in the two above-mentioned subjects. There are no conscientious objectors in China. One person, a Christian, informed me that at the University he had been a student above average ability, and usually obtained first or second place in tests. He had studied "Dialectical and Historical Materialism" and presented excellent answers in the examination on that subject. He was later called for an interview with his professor, who asked him if he really believed all that he had written in his paper. He answered "No." He was failed in all subjects and had to leave the University. The number of students who would be able to withstand such strong, constant atheistic pressure cannot easily be ascertained.

Very shortly after 'Liberation' most of the foreign Protestant clergy left China voluntarily. As regards the number of Chinese Protestant ministers still tending their flocks, we were unable to obtain any information.

Most of the Catholic foreign priests and religious workers were expelled, usually after they had been found guilty of 'anti-Government' or the broader 'counter-revolutionary' charge. Of the numbers of Chinese priests still free, again we have no accurate knowledge. However, in the City of Shanghai the Catholic Bishop and "about forty" priests from the diocese are imprisoned. There are 43 still at liberty. Even these are working under severe difficulties. They are not permitted to visit their people in their homes and there is a complete ban on any visitation outside their city or parish.

Half of Them are in Prison

If Shanghai can be taken as typical—and there seems no reason to suggest that it is exceptional—then it would mean that about half of the native clergy have been imprisoned. If this figure can be accepted as being more or less correct, it would mean that in China today there are about one-quarter of the number of clergy that were there in 1949.

It is obvious merely from an impartial examination of the facts that the 'religious freedom' in China today is not at all like the religious freedom that we understand. However, in order fully to investigate the position it is necessary to pursue one's investigations beyond the surface facts.

A great deal depends on the charges of 'political offences' which have resulted in so many imprisonments and so many expulsions.

The facts of a few of such charges were given to us while we were in China.

One concerned an Italian priest in Peking. It was alleged that he had obtained a cannon with which he was going to bombard the Square in Peking on 'May Day'. In the bombardment he hoped to kill Mao Tse-tung. He was tried and, as seems always to happen, found guilty. Subsequently he was "expelled from the sacred soil of China forever".

The other case was that of the Catholic Bishop of Shanghai, Bishop Kiong. The charge against him is one of "anti-Government activities". It is alleged that there was found in a drawer in one of his rooms a Nationalist Chinese flag, and in the bottom of the well in his yard a revolver. He was arrested in September 1955 and has not received a trial. Nor have any of the 43 clergy arrested in the same purge. Many of these priests were arrested for "persuading members of the Legion of Mary not to register as counter-revolutionaries".

In China there is no separation of religion and politics. It is often difficult neatly to draw the dividing line even in our society, but in China there is no dividing line. No less person than Premier Chou En-lai has declared, "In my opinion it is ridiculous to separate religion from politics".

In China religion must serve politics. Of that there is no doubt. But somewhere every religion that is worth anything, must draw the line.

It is easy to understand why the Chinese Government should have such a policy. Why it cannot tolerate a religion. For religion is not only the burning of incense before the Buddhist pagoda, it is not only the act of singing before the altar of the Chinese, it is not only the attending of services. Religion is more. It is the belief in a certain authority. That is why every religion which is a real religion, every religion which is worthy of its name, appears to a Communist Government to be a usurpation. And hence the Chinese Government adopts violent methods in order to make Christians accept, finally by endorsing the reform effected by the Government itself: the reform of the 'People's Patriotic Church'.

The Anglican Archbishop of Sydney, Dr. Mowll, who recently led a delegation of members of his Church to the Chinese mainland, returned to Australia and went to considerable pains to show that there was 'complete religious freedom' in Red China today. He came under considerable criticism as a result, and being questioned by a New South Wales Presbyterian minister, admitted that he had while in China asked no questions which he considered might be embarrassing to his hosts.

Dr. Mowll is perfectly at liberty to adopt this attitude if he pleases, but he is not justified in spreading whatever had been told him as the truth of China today.

The 'Patriotic Church' is the only Church in China today which enjoys any semblance of freedom. But even this Red-founded Church has no real freedom. It merely has the freedom to dance to the Communist tune. It is tolerated for one purpose only--it is a useful tool for the complete and final eradication of real religion. Let me give an illustration. A doctor wishes to save his patient from smallpox. He is utterly and irrevocably opposed to smallpox. How does he go about it? He gives his patient a small, controlled dose of smallpox. It is the surest way to save him from the real disease. That is what is being done in China today. There is being administered by the Government a small, controlled dose of Communist religion. They think that this is the most effective way of getting rid of religion altogether.

Religious freedom in China today? There is bitter persecution of every real religion in an insidious campaign to destroy all religion. Here subtle-- there blatant; but everywhere one of the most violent persecutions the Christian Church has faced in the two thousand years of its history.